

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CU-04 OIC-04 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-12 TRSE-00

MBFR-03 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 SS-15 NSC-10 RSR-01 /130 W

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R 131900Z JUL 73

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0829

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ALL NATO CAPITALS 3134

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 3367

E.O. 11652: GDS: 12/31/79

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE - ALLIED PREPARATIONS FOR THE SECOND STAGE

REF: USNATO 3152

SUMMARY: AT JULY 12 SENIOR POLADS MEETING, US REP SUGGESTED WORK PROGRAM AS OUTLINED REFTEL. INITIAL REACTIONS WERE FAVORABLE, ALTHOUGH FRENCH WERE NON -COMMITTAL. WORK PROGRAM WILL BEGIN JULY 19 WITH EXAMINATION OF VARIOUS DRAFT FAINAL DOCUMENTS TABLED BY MEMBERS OF EC-9, AT WHICH TIME WE WOULD WELCOME DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS ON THOSE PAPERS. SPC WILL TAKE UP PRINCIPLES JULY 26, BY WHICH TIME FRENCH DRAFT WILL HOPEFULLY HAVE BEEN PRESENTED IN NATO. END SUMMARY.

1. US REP OPENED DISCUSSION BY SUGGESTING WORKING PROGRAM ALONG LINES THAT DESCRIBED REFTEL. US REP NOTED, INTER ALIA, THAT IN PREPARING FOR SECOND STAGE ALLIES SHOULD CAREFULLY CONSIDER TACTICAL APPROACH TO LIKELY SOVIET DEMANDS THAT: (A) DRAFTING OF FINAL TEXTS BEGIN IMMEDIATELY; AND (B) DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES GOVERNING RELATIONS AMONG STATES BE REGARDED AS MAJOR RESULT OF CSCE WITH ALL OTHER AGREEMENTS SUBORDINATE TO IT. WHILE STRESSING THAT WE HAD NO FIXED IDEAS ON HOW TO PROCEED, US REP SUGGESTED THAT ONE POSSIBLE CONFIDENTIAL

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RESPONSE TO SOVIET EFFORT LAUNCH IMMEDIATELY INTO DRAFTING EFFORT WOULD BE FOR ALLIES TO TABLE DRAFT DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES GOVERNING RELATIONS AMONG STATES PLUS FURTHER "EXPLNATORY" PAPERS ON REMAINING ASPECTS OF ITEM ONE AND

ALL OF ITEMS TWO AND THREE. US REP ALSO SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES CONSIDER CAREFULLY WHAT SORTS OF AGREEMENTS WOULD BEST SERVE THEIR INTERESTS AND NOTED THAT "PACKAGE" APPROACH WHEREBY BASIC AGREEMENT, PERHAPS A DECLARATION, REACHED UNDER EACH AGENDA ITEM WOULD HAVE ADDITIONAL AGREEMENTS ON SPECIFIC POINTS ATTACHED TO IT MIGHT SERVE TO OVERCOME SOVIET EFFORT GIVE SPECIAL PROMINENCE TO DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES GOVERNING RELATIONS AMONG STATES.

2. INITIAL REACTIONS TO US THINKING WERE QUITE FAVORABLE WITH EXCEPTION OF SUGGESTION THAT ALLIES MIGHT TABLE DRAFT DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES AT OUTSET OF SECOND STAGE. NETHERLANDS REP, WHO WAS SUPPORTED BY MOST OTHER MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE, CAUTIONED THAT BY TABLING A DECLARATION, ALLIES WOULD ENSURE THAT AT LEAST HALF OF ALLIED POINTS WOULD BE LOST IN PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING OUR DECLARATION AGAINST THAT OF SOVIETS. BETTER COURSE, HE SAID, WOULD BE FOR ALLIED DELEGATIONS TO TABLE "EXPLANATORY" PAPERS DISCUSSING INDIVIDUAL PRINCIPLES IN DETAIL, AND HE SAID THE HAGUE WAS WORKING ON PAPER ON SELF-DETERMINATION. UK, NORWEGIAN, CANADIAN, DANISH, ITALIAN AND FRG REPS GENERALLY AGREED WITH DUTCH POSITION. ALL CAUTIONED AGAINST GIVING UP "INDUCTIVE" APPROACH, WHICH HAD SERVED ALLIED INTERESTS SO WELL IN HELSINKI AND COULD BE USED TO GOOD EFFECT IN GENEVA. US REP EXPLAINED THAT OUR IDEA OF DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN PRINCIPLES AND REMAINDER OF CSCE AGENDA HAD BEEN BASED ON ASSUMPTION THAT DISCUSSION OF PRINCIPLES DURING MPT HAD BEEN QUITE THOROUGH AND THAT AN INDUCTIVE APPROACH WAS NOT REALLY NEEDED IN THIS CASE. HOWEVER, HE NOTED GENERAL ALLIED PREFERENCE FOR AVOIDING THE TABLING OF DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AT OPENING OF SECOND STAGE AND ASKED WHETHER DELEGATIONS OTHER THAN DUTCH WERE WORKING ON "EXPLANATORY" PAPERS. TURKISH REP MENTIONED PAPER ON NON-INTERFERENCE WHICH TURKISH CSCE DEL TABLED JULY 6, BUT OTHER DELEGATIONS WERE UNAWARE OF ANY WORK BEING DONE IN CAPITALS. IN OBVIOUS EFFORT TO ENCOURAGE FRENCH TO TABLE THEIR DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES IN NATO, CHAIRMAN ASKED THAT DELEGATIONS CIRCULATE ANY PAPERS THEY MIGHT HAVE ON PRINCIPLES PRIOR TO CONFIDENTIAL

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JULY 26 SPC MEETING. FRENCH REP DID NOT REACT, ASIDE FROM REMARK THAT HIS SILENCE AT MEETING SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN AS APPROVAL OF WORK PROGRAM SUGGESTED BY US.

3. ON SUBJECT OF SWISS ARBITRATION/CONCILIATION PROPOSAL, US REP SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES EXCHANGE INFORMATION ON WHAT SWISS PLANNED TO TABLE AT SECOND STAGE AND CONSIDER WHAT SORT OF AGREEMENT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE COVERING SWISS PROPOSAL. UK REP REPORTED THAT SWISS PLAN PROPOSE THAT SPECIAL WORKING GROUP BE SET UP TO STUDY THEIR PROPOSAL AT SAME TIME OTHER COMMITTEES/SUB-COMMITTEES BEGIN THEIR WORK. ACCORDING TO UK REP, SWISS COULD AGREE THAT AFTER TWO OR THREE GENERAL DISCUSSIONS, SPECIAL WORKING GROUP COULD ADJOURN TO ALLOW

ITS PARTICIPANTS (PRESUMABLY INTERNATIONAL LAW EXPERTS)
TO RETURN TO CAPITALS FOR REFLECTION.

4. WITH REFERENCE TO US SUGGESTION THAT AT BEGINNING
OF SECOND STAGE ALLIES CONTINUE TO TREAT QUESTION OF FOLLOW-UP
AS TACTICAL PROBLEM, NORWEGIAN REP NOTED OSLO'S INTEREST IN
THIS SUBJECT AND SAID HE HOPED THAT WHEN RESULTS OF SECOND
STAGE BEGAN TO COME IN, ALLIES WOULD LOOK AT FOLLOW-UP IN
TERMS OF CONCRETE PROPOSALS. THERE WAS NO OBJECTION, HOWEVER,
TO UK REP'S STATEMENT THAT ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO TIE
DISCUSSION OF FOLLOW-UP TO RESULTS OF SECOND STAGE.

5. SEVERAL REPS ASKED US REP WHETHER WE HAD ANY DEFINITE
IDEAS ON TYPES OF SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENTS WHICH MIGHT BE
ATTACHED TO OVERALL DECLARATIONS UNDER "PACKAGE" APPROACH.
US REP SAID WE HAD NO CONCRETE PROPOSALS AT THIS TIME AND
SIMPLY BELIEVED ALLIES SHOULD CONSIDER WHETHER SUPPLEMENTARY
AGREEMENTS ON SPECIFIC POINTS COULD BE USEFUL. (COMMENT:
MISSION'S SUGGESTIONS ON THIS POINT FOLLOW SEPTEL. END COMMENT).

6. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THAT JULY 12 DISCUSSION CREATED GOOD
BASIS FOR FURTHER ALLIED DISCUSSION, AND WE WERE ENCOURAGED
THAT MOST ALLIES (IN FACT ALL EXCEPT FRENCH) COME OUT STRONGLY
IN FAVOR OF INTENSIVE ALLIED CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN NOW AND
OPENING OF SECOND STAGE. FRENCH WILL PROBABLY GO ALONG WITH
WORK PROGRAM, PARTICULARLY IF OTHER MEMBERS OF EC-9 TAKE AN
ACTIVE ROLE. WE HOPE THAT OTHER MEMBERS OF EC-9 CAN
ENCOURAGE FRENCH TO TABLE THEIR DRAFT DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES
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GOVERNING RELATIONS AMONG STATES HERE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE
AND IN FORM OF NATIONAL CONTRIBUTION RATHER THAN AGREED EC-9
DOCUMENT. FOLLOWING JULY 12 SPC MEETING, US DELOFF ENCOURAGED
FRG DELOFF, WHO WILL ATTEND JULY 17-18 COPENHAGEN MEETING, TO
AVOID SITUATION IN WHICH OTHER ALLIES ARE PRESENTED WITH SOLID,
AGREED EC POSITION ON SUBJECT WHICH HAS BEEN CONSIDERED FOR
SEVERAL YEARS IN NATO. HIS REACTION WAS QUITE FAVORABLE,
AND WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR EMBASSIES IN EC CAPITALS
OTHER THAN PARIS TO PASS ON SIMILAR MESSAGE IF OCCASION
PRESENTS ITSELF.
MCAULIFFE

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